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THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

ON EARTH PEACE. . . . NATION SHALL NOT LIFT UP SWORD AGAINST NATION, NEITHER SHALL THEY LEARN WAR ANY MORE.

NEW SERIES.

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ANNUAL ADDRESS

BEFORE THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY,

BY A. A. MINER, D. D., *Pres. Tufts College.*

Reported by William G. Tousey.

Dr. Miner began by saying substantially that, on assembling at this fortieth anniversary of the American Peace Society, the same old question recurs—*peace or war?* Shall we cultivate the arts of peace, or the arts of war? Shall we seek those things that make for peace, or those that make for war? He greatly regretted the necessity he was under of treating the question in what, at best, would be a desultory way; but confessed that, had he had the most entire command of his time for the consideration of this great question, he could scarcely have hoped to bring anything novel upon a subject which has been so long a theme of discussion, and which has engaged the best efforts of such men as Worcester, Jay, Walker, Upham and Sumner, not to mention the worthy President and Secretary of this Society.

POINTS NOT IN ISSUE.

The question before us is a practical one, not the radical one, whether a government shall ever use deadly force in either defending its acknowledged rights, or in executing its own laws against those who violate them. Grounds so extreme the American Peace Society does not take, but restricts itself to the practical, specific work of doing away the well-defined custom of war among nations, as a method of settling their disputes. Whether we believe or deny the doctrine of strict non-resistance, war, as a great and terrible fact, remains the same, and confessedly ought, if possible, to be removed or averted. So that if the doctrine of strict non-resistance were true, the mission and aim of this Society would remain. But granting it to be false, granting that war in self-defence is perfectly right, and that even offensive wars, in certain emergencies, are justifiable, it is yet possible, that war as a usage, as a means of adjusting national difficulties, and

as a general remedy for earth's ills, may be among the very worst; and this society would have, even then, a sufficient reason for its existence.

Nor does this Society attempt to demonstrate the *absolute sacredness of human life*. Of course, if that doctrine were established, there could be no question as to the legitimacy of the claims put forth by this Society. But granting this doctrine to be false,—and I see not how the intelligent student of the Bible can regard it otherwise than false,—there would still remain an open door for the end which this association seeks. There might still remain ground on which to demand a modification of the prevailing opinion respecting the value of human life, and the conditions, under which alone, society may dispose of it. We might still inquire into whose hands it is proper to commit such a tremendous power, and at whose command a people are to pour out their choicest blood in battle.

Nor, again, does this Society undertake to demonstrate the *sufficiency of mere persuasion* for all the ends of government. This question, indeed, it does not regard as fairly coming within its proper province, but incidentally recognizes of course the right of a government to put its laws in execution with all the force that may be requisite for the purpose. This right it does not deny, but deems it inseparable from the very idea of government, without which it would be a mere sham, delusion and mockery. The legitimate, uniform aim of Peace is, not to paralyze government in dealing with offenders, not to prevent or obstruct a due enforcement of law, but merely to do away the custom of war among nations. Our own government, in putting down the late rebellion, attempted nothing more than a legitimate, indispensable execution of its laws against banded rebels in arms. It was all an execution of law; just that, and nothing more. If such execution of law, or any other due execution of law be called war, it is such war as no Peace Society was ever established to do away. The friends of peace think it a misnomer to call

any proper enforcement of law war. It is only condign punishment of law-breakers.

Now, though it may be right for government to use force in securing its purposes, there can be no doubt that it is desirable to supersede force by the persuasive influence of rational motives. It is just the institution of some measures which shall look to *persuasives* for the adjustment of international difficulties, that this Society seeks. It does not seek to weaken the arm of government, it simply undertakes to say that, human passions, prejudices, and ignorance, may be so adjusted to circumstances, that the prejudices, ignorance, and passions of one nation, may neutralize those of another; and that the combined judgments of the nations will afford a juster, and more satisfactory solution of international difficulties, than can be reached through war, — precisely as the combined judgments of twelve jurymen afford a better solution of the complications between individuals, than could be reached through the arbitration of force.

This Society then does not undertake to say that all use of force, call it war if you will, is necessarily wrong. It may be necessary for the support and the very existence of civil government. The case of our own civil struggle affords an example of this. Though our armies were marched over rebel soil, and our cannon planted before rebel cities, it was in the execution of our laws, in defence of priceless institutions, — institutions in which are anchored our hopes, and the hopes of the world; it was in maintenance of the integrity of the nation, of authority against anarchy, of justice against injustice, of right against wrong, and in the depths of our souls we believe that the Government was justified in putting forth its might.

SINGLE AIM OF PEACE.

Still, whatever may be thought of wars in any form, the question remains, whether they are the best modes of settling national difficulties; and that question this Society undertakes to consider. The admission that wars may have a right side, — may have phases that are right, — would by no means invalidate this Association. However war may be a remedy for the ills of society and a means for the settlement of national difficulties, there is no denying the proposition that it is a dreadful remedy, and however justifiable it may be deemed under some phases, it is commonly a remedy that is far worse than the disease.

Consider for a moment what war is. It is not

simply what you see on the tented field. It is not simply the marshalling of hosts, the pride and pomp of the battle array, the floating banners, the prancing steeds, the roll of drums; nor is it the deadly closing of columns, the flaming batteries, the roar of musketry,

“The falling beam, the shriek, the groan, the shout,
The ceaseless clangor, and the rush of men,
Inebriate with rage”; —

nor yet is it the last and most terrible scene, when the tide of battle has swept by, and you are alone with the dying and the dead. No, war is more, much more, than all this! It is to be judged rather in the principles that precede, and in the moral and material results that follow it; and thus judged, how insane, how fearful a thing! It is an abrogation of the law of reason, and a substitution of the law of force. It is in many cases a deliberate surrender of certain triumph, and an appeal to the wildest chance. In any national quarrel that may arise, one of the parties may be quite in the right — may hold claims founded on principles of unquestionable authority, and which will commend themselves to all nations and ranks of people on the face of the earth. That nation may take its stand there, and compel history to bear down its claim and the justice of its cause to generations yet unborn. Standing there it is invulnerable, and time will certainly and speedily vindicate its claim. It arms itself with the moral conviction of the world.

But if it abandons this instrumentality, and appeals to brutal force, it throws away an assured weapon of success and ultimate glory, for another weapon which may secure an advantage, and which may not. It lays its assured cause in a balance which may be turned adversely by any one of a thousand exigencies foreign to its merits.

We have to-day a pending question between this country and Great Britain — a nation far more honored than she deserved to be for the abolition of slavery in her own West Indian possessions, and for her utterances in behalf of freedom. You are familiar with that question. You remember the gratuitous sympathy and importunate counsel of that nation to the North in the time of our anti-slavery discussions. And then you remember how false she proved in the hour of trial, how deeply and injuriously she sympathized with the South in the rebellion, aiding them with munitions of war, permitting her ports to be used for retreat and rendezvous — nay, permitting her own mechanics to be instrumental in building and sending out piratical crafts that committed almost unbounded

spoliation upon our commerce, and in a thousand ways prolonging the war, increasing its enormous burdens, and making sick the Christian heart. Our Government, you will recollect, proposed a reference of what are called the "Alabama claims." This reference involved simply the question, whether Great Britain should pay certain damages inflicted upon our merchant service. The proposition was blindly rejected.

Presently England renewed the proposition; but our own Government refused to accept it, and raised the additional question whether England did not exhibit indecent haste in recognizing the belligerent rights of the South. This England refuses to admit. There our problem stands. Some people abroad and some at home imagine that war will result from this complication; but I cannot entertain such fears. That we have just and valid grounds of complaint against Great Britain, one of the foremost nations of the earth, there can be no doubt. Now, the United States of America can afford to stand in this position for a generation, aye, for thirty generations, if need be, and every added generation will exhibit more and more clearly the justice of our cause, and the dignity of our claim. And when the noble words of Massachusetts' noblest Senator, now the football of politicians, shall have been duly weighed, England herself will feel that the discount of the claim will be relatively small. When an aggregate of all the damages inflicted upon us by her policy during the Rebellion shall have been made, it may be found that the sum total far exceeds Mr. Sumner's estimate.

With such a cause we can afford to wait. There is an extent, a depth, a profundity, in the atrocities inflicted upon us under a very decent show of sympathy, under various gracious pretexts and hypocritical pretences, which time alone can reveal. When, therefore, we put aside reason in an exigency like this, and resort to the sword, we put aside an invulnerable weapon for one that is treacherous and uncertain. Any nation that thus substitutes the law of force for the law of reason, deliberately turns back towards barbarism.

SOME OF THE EVILS OF WAR—ITS COST.

Would we judge war properly, we must do it in the light of the principles which lead a nation to abandon its educational and industrial institutions, its system of internal improvements, its commercial enterprises, and its accumulated wealth, which dissolve the bonds of

Christian order, inaugurate license, and destroy personal and social security. When we substitute war for peace, we enter upon a wholesale destruction of a nation's men and means. From this material point of view—a view by which many minds are more accessible than by the merely moral view—are presented considerations of incalculable moment.

Glance at the national debts of different countries of Europe, not as the chief element in this problem, but as the residuum of their waste of material products. Overlooking the immense loss occasioned by the non-productive employment of the energies of society in a time of war, and deducting the instalments paid in the intervening years, there still remain startling amounts against these several nations. Great Britain stands indebted four thousand millions of dollars—three times her indebtedness at the end of the Revolutionary war. The little country of Greece, that a man can cover with his hand, is indebted one hundred millions of dollars. Italy, just struggling into some degree of freedom, has a debt of twelve hundred and fifty millions of dollars. The national debt of our own beloved country is twice that sum, twenty-four hundred millions of dollars.

And yet this is only a fraction of the pecuniary fruits of war. An English economist, in estimating the expense of the nations of Europe for the maintenance of their naval and military establishments on a peace foundation, when no war is raging, gives the following figures: number of men, military and naval, three millions; and the cost, about five hundred millions annually. M. Passy places the estimate somewhat higher, making the cost about six hundred and twenty-five millions of dollars. In time of war these figures are, of course, greatly increased, the number of men being doubled and even trebled.

Let us now turn our thoughts to our late civil struggle. The cost to the States, North and South, of the American Rebellion is a very difficult matter to arrive at. Indeed, it is impossible, at present, to determine the facts exactly; but taking the figures of the wisest and most competent men who have given their attention to the subject, we have the following: The direct financial cost to the Government of the North, exclusive of individual contributions, but to some extent inclusive of State expenditures, yet by no means including all coming under this head, gives five thousand millions of dollars. It is supposed that the expenditures of the States South, through their Government, during the same period, cannot be less than three thousand millions of dollars.

Then there are other expenses greatly enhancing these. There is the cost of men; for men have a money value to the State, though that is not their principal value. If New Hampshire, or Vermont, or Maine, were to rear a thousand horses annually, and send them as a gift to Massachusetts, we should think they were contributing generously to the wealth of the State. Now, a horse matures in five or six years, but it takes twenty or thirty years to bring a man to maturity; and yet the different States are pouring out their wealth in this form like water upon our great cities; and when the nation requires it, they lay on the altar of sacrifice many thousands of picked men—men of the highest financial value to the State and nation. We cannot place the loss of men North, at less than three hundred and fifty thousand during the war. Probably it was very much more. The South cannot have lost less than two hundred thousand men. We have then an aggregate of five hundred and fifty thousand lives sacrificed in that war.

What were those men worth to the nation? On an average, including aged, middle-aged and young, the slaves of the South were held to be worth from six to seven hundred dollars. A good colored man in the glorious times of slavery was worth from fifteen hundred to two thousand dollars. Then the average value of men from the free North—clerks, teachers, mechanics, ministers of the Gospel, and men taken from every department of society—cannot be set down at a less value to the State than two thousand dollars each. With this estimate, we have an aggregate expenditure from this cause alone of eleven hundred millions of dollars.

But this is not all. We have lost heavily in the non-productive employment of these men during the years of the war. It is difficult to say what was the average number of men employed in the war department. But take for the moment the extremely low average of five hundred thousand men in both armies for four years, equivalent to two millions of men for one year, and estimating the productive value of each man at two hundred dollars, we have four hundred millions of dollars lost, simply by the engagement of men in non-productive occupations.

In addition to these losses, the South suffered to the extent of twenty-four hundred, or three thousand, millions of dollars by the confiscation of slaves. When we add to these sums the losses occasioned by the confiscation and non-production of the cotton and other crops, and by the depopulation and waste of Southern territory, we shall have at least two

thousand millions of dollars more, making, at a moderate estimate, the aggregate loss the to South by the war, more than eight thousand millions of dollars; while for the North and South together, it would amount to more than fourteen thousand five hundred millions of dollars.

Is not that a costly remedy for national ills? The South thought herself aggrieved, and then sacrificed her slaves worth three thousand millions, and five thousand millions more with them; but did she better her condition? If we had proposed as a nation to buy out the slaveholders, it would have cost us about three thousand millions of dollars. That would have been the total cost of solving this dreadful problem. But because of our passions or stolidity, we have spent nearly fifteen thousand millions, and what is of far more account, have sacrificed many hundred thousands of picked men on the tented field.

Why had not the South wisdom enough, when she saw that the sentiment for freedom was rising like the tides of the sea, to come forward and say, in the spirit of a noble, Christian generosity, "We see that we cannot live together in this noble Union, and still cherish this institution of slavery; we therefore generously surrender our slaves, and remove forever this last element of sectional discord!" It would have been the grandest deed in history. The South would have led the nations of the earth, in all time to come, for noble generosity, Christian philanthropy, and lofty humanity. Where stands she now? In the lowest deep of infamy! Rebelling against the rising tide of Christian sentiment, seeking to dissolve the bonds of a Union the freest and most just ever established on the face of the earth, and endeavoring to plant another with slavery as the corner-stone, she dug her own grave, wrapped her own shroud about her, and lay down to perpetual ignominy. A remedy, indeed, this for the injustice done her—a dreadful remedy!

There is one element in the above computation which I wish not to overlook. The sacrifice of three thousand millions of dollars worth of slave property is not a sacrifice of so much value to the country. The slave-holder has lost four millions of chattels; but the nation has gained four millions of freedmen.

But this is not all the sad tale. The influence of war is uniform in the deterioration of the race. It was estimated during the Crimean war that the rate of mortality in the army, though composed of picked men, was increased over the ordinary mortality at home one and one-fourth per cent. Applying that estimate to the four thousand millions of men which

Europe maintains in arms in time of peace, you have a sacrifice of fifty thousand men annually; while the reproduction of the race is left to be carried forward by the agency of inferior paternity, thus reversing in the case of man those laws which the wise improver of domestic animals is careful to observe. Now, from the deterioration of the race physically, there comes moral deterioration; and this moral deterioration is greatly enhanced by the influences of camp life, and by the low tone of sentiment that prevails in society generally during the progress of war. It does not require very close observation to discover that in these United States, in some respects, a different tone of moral sentiment now prevails from that which prevailed before the war.

A remedy involving ills like these is not likely to be temperately employed; and the worse the cause, the worse becomes the remedy in that cause. But great as is the evil of war, there may be a greater. Slavery is greater. Rebellion against the freest government on earth, resulting in the dismemberment of a nation which is the hope of the world, would be greater.

BETTER METHODS POSSIBLE.

But after all these admissions, the American Peace Society raises the question, can not some peaceful method of settling national difficulties be substituted for war? This question it answers in the affirmative. But that affirmative must rest on no impossible condition. It must not require the elimination of human passion and prejudice. It must not require a millennial state of self-control; for, whatever may be the teachings of the Holy Scriptures in regard to an ultimate gospel day, it is quite clear that the completeness of its reign is not yet, and will not be while men are born in utter ignorance and live so largely under the sway of passion and selfishness. The affirmative of this question must not rest upon measures demanding too great strain of national habit, or too violent innovation upon national usages. The nations of the earth must be encouraged to grow up to the methods to be employed — to approach them somewhat gradually, and by the processes of education — led as it were easily into the employment of means requisite for the control of human passions, and the abolition of the enormous evils to which we have referred. They have been in training for such a result for something like eighteen hundred years. True, they have not made the progress that could have been desired; but to-day we may be standing on the very threshold of the imperishable temple of peace.

Notice some of the usages into which we have grown. Individual dissensions are no longer settled by an appeal to force. If A. has cause of complaint against B., he brings his cause before twelve disinterested men, and by the decision of this body he must abide. So in this Union of States; when one State is involved in a misunderstanding with another, they do not fly to arms, and enter upon a career of devastation; but repair with their cause to the higher courts of the nation, and mutually abide by the decision there rendered. Is there any question that these methods of settling individual and sectional difficulties, are better than the arbitration of deadly force? Is there any one hardy enough to counsel a return to the bloody usages of the middle ages?

Now, the institution of measures analagous to these for the settlement of international difficulties, is what the American Peace Society proposes. The method, frequently advocated, of adjusting such difficulties by referring them to the arbitration of a third party, is by no means an untried one. It has been instrumental in settling national differences in many instances, some of which date far back in the history of our race. More than once our own country and Great Britain have submitted their conflicting claims to the judgment of arbiters, and have accepted the results. Since the time of the Revolution various boundary questions, and other entanglements, have been disposed of in this manner, and wars thus averted. There is a simplicity about this method which naturally commends it to the general mind. When two nations are involved in a misunderstanding, they can bring their respective claims, fortified with the best logic they can command, before an authorized body of commissioners. These commissioners would commonly be selected from among the most eminent and fairest-minded men of the respective nations, or of a third and disinterested nation, as the case may be. The whole question will then be dealt with in such an open and public manner, that the very publicity of it, and a respect for the opinion of the nations thus summoned to witness the proceedings, will conspire to make that decision respected, and lead the parties to submit to it in good faith.

There are many advantages in this method of arbitration, which cannot fail to commend it in the absence of a better method. There are, however, peculiar difficulties attendant upon it. The higher rises the tide of passion, the more deeply and widely the nations are moved concerning the matters of grievance, the less likely are they to refer their

claims, and the more difficult will it be to prevent a resort to arms. But that very resort to arms will be a confession of dominant passion, and of purposed injustice. "From the terrible remorse of the crime of murder," said Webster, "there is no escape but by confession or suicide; and suicide is confession." So from the guilt of national injustice and refusal to arbitrate, there is no escape but by confession or war; and war is confession.

This method of arbitration, so often employed, might be materially improved if the several nations would provide for it by treaty, while yet there is no cause of dissension between them. This would relieve the parties from the necessity of preliminary negotiations and agreements in times of passion. But after every possible precaution of this kind, there remains the objection that such a treaty could be terminated at pleasure, and that neither party might feel obliged to abide by the decision of a commission, even though they had formally agreed to do so; for a want of good faith is often the chronic disease of nations. Besides, the arbiters would have no power to enforce their decision, however just or important it might be.

A CONGRESS OF NATIONS.

Considerations like these point to a broader and more permanent arrangement for securing the results aimed at by the American Peace Society,—an arrangement, not respecting two nations alone, but the whole community of nations, under all their relationships. That arrangement is nothing less than a Congress of Nations, made up of one or more representatives from each State, and constituting the High Court of Nations, to sit at fixed periods, hear whatever causes may be brought before it, and determine them in accordance with the exact facts, and the admitted principles of international law.

A part of the duty of such a Congress would be formally to recognize, extend and perfect the principles of international law. The proceedings of such a Court, from the individual weight of its members, the publicity of its acts, and the historic importance of its decisions, would go far to mould public opinion and to command the support necessary to highest success. Upon influences like these, the American Peace Society relies to give dominion to such a Court, and terminate the barbarous custom of war. Undoubtedly they would generally be successful, and war as a *custom* be at an end.

Should any deem more stringent measures necessary in the last emergency, this Congress might be

provided with an army contributed by the several States, for the enforcement of its decisions. All other armed forces might then be disbanded. The result of this would probably be that there would rarely be need of employing such a force; and at no distant day even that force might be virtually dissolved and sent home, standing enrolled simply, to be summoned like the militia of Massachusetts and other States, only when occasion actually requires it solely for the enforcement of obedience to the laws. The very fact that such an armed force was at command would prevent the necessity of summoning it.

What an infinite gain to the nations of Europe would result from thus dismissing their peace establishments—disbanding their armies, abolishing their navies, closing their armories, and putting aside the various instrumentalities which now waste the national resources! Then might the productive energies of the several countries be turned to the building of workshops, and the advancement of the mechanic and liberal arts. The enormous sum of six or seven hundred millions of dollars, now annually wrung from the weary toilers, would be converted into sources of comfort. The blessings of health, and plenty, and knowledge, would descend where now ignorance, and want, and disease, prey upon our race. How might the whole world rejoice at the adoption of measures so calculated to promote the sympathy and good-will of nations, to open up such vast possibilities of happiness and progress, to do away with all strife but that of virtue and excellence, and to inaugurate that era when men shall learn war no more, when the desert shall be made to blossom like the rose, and the hard cheek of earth never more become crimson beneath the tramp of men who

"Reap their brothers for the wains,
And call the harvest honor."

But what if that Congress shall prove false to its trusts, and shall not only decide wrong, but enforce its decision? There would be no help for it, except in an appeal to the peoples of those nations. But such an event would not be likely to occur, because of the variety of opinions, and the diversity of national prejudices that would necessarily be incorporated into such a Congress, and aside from all question of integrity of the members, would prevent any general combination against the right. The history of our own Government will illustrate this view. When it was betrayed into the hands of rebels, a remedy was found in an appeal to the people; and even when the effort was made to administer the government in the interests of slavery, there was too

little agreement to make that effort permanently efficient.

It is manifest that such a Congress of nations could not be instituted except on the basis of one of two conditions. There either must be a willingness on the part of the nations to be just, or there must be a salutary fear of being unjust.

Half a dozen years ago, Napoleon III. sent a communication to the leading governments of Europe, proposing a convention to establish some method by which war might be averted. Every government responded favorably excepting Great Britain. That nation, which ought to have been first, was last. And yet Great Britain has done some things calculated to promote these ends. She has united with us in efforts to secure a rational and amicable adjustment of various vexed questions relating to our northern frontier, such as the establishing of boundaries, and the removal of war vessels from the lakes. About a dozen years ago, our own government proposed to Great Britain and other nations of Europe, to unite in an agreement giving the freedom of the seas to merchant vessels. England rejected that proposal. These facts show that the nations of the earth are agitating this question in a manner that cannot fail to enlighten, and bring home to the consciences of mankind a sense of the importance of adopting some means by which the enormities of war may be averted. It has been recently alleged, though probably without truth, that a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, had been entered into by Great Britain, France, and Spain, in consequence of the alleged extravagance of the claims made by the United States against Great Britain. Supposing it to be so, would not the United States honor herself by asking admission to that alliance that she might there, in that home-circle of nations, prefer her charge, and hear the defence?

Before such a Congress of Nations grave problems would come for settlement. The first question, and one that would be settled by the nations appointing it, would have respect to its powers — whether it should be merely a deliberative body, or should be invested with judicial powers only, and be commissioned to pass judgments in the light of existing international laws. If the latter powers alone were bestowed, it would soon appear that the Congress must join legislative with judicial functions; since there are very grave defects in the present system of international laws, making it an early duty of the Congress to revise and extend the code, while the laws it should recommend, might be approved by the various

nations before having the force of law. Can there be any doubt that such an institution could greatly further the interests of the leading nations of the earth, by securing a wise, philanthropic, and equitable adjustment of international difficulties, and thus averting the ravages of internecine war?

Is it said that the day is far off when the leading nations of the earth, mutually jealous, and raging with ambition, will be willing to tie their hands, and rest their national interests on the ground of right? Well, if the adoption of some such measure is very long delayed, there will probably arise some other method, which will supersede the necessity of it. If it should transpire that some nation shall arise with inexhaustible resources, with free institutions, with a policy which seeks the intelligence and prosperity of all its citizens, with a vitality that secures the permanence of its institutions, with an active sympathy for the oppressed, and power sufficient to defend its own in every emergency, is it improbable that such a nation would win to itself the sympathies of the poor and unfortunate among the nations of the earth? Is it improbable, that, welcoming with open arms all who should seek its protection and its blessings, such a nation would make rapid strides in power, and be able to dictate such principles of international law as should abolish the desperate and bloody game of war, securing to humanity the blessings and possibilities of peace? Is there not such a prospect opening before us to-day? Here is a nation, in place of which, less than a century ago, there existed thirteen feeble colonies, without union, bordered by an inhospitable wilderness, and harassed by formidable tribes of ferocious savages. Forced by British tyranny to combine their strength, those thirteen colonies have surmounted incredible obstacles, and become, through a career of prosperity wholly unexampled, a nation of thirty-seven States — each a nation in itself — with a population of thirty-seven millions, with a vast commerce, a stupendous system of internal improvements, and resources of which we can only say that they are practically inexhaustible. Immigrants yearly thronging to our shores by untold thousands, find here a hearty welcome, ample territory, equal opportunities, constant solicitations to improvement, and a political system which commends itself by its justice and magnanimity, and which stands before the world a marvel of governmental wisdom and success.

Would it be strange if the British provinces on this continent, obedient to an irresistible gravitation, should in time, like ripe fruit, drop into the bosom of

this nation, if the Sandwich Islands should follow, if Mexico and the Central States, sick of internal feuds, and jaded by misrule, should seek the protection of our laws, and the whole body of South American States find such a Union productive of increased stability and freedom? Thus would the whole western continent be combined into one mighty confederacy. Would it then be strange if emigrants, returning home with the story of the West, should awaken a sympathy which would lead the poorer and freer States of Europe to seek, if not membership in the Union, at least a close and strong alliance that should guarantee protection, and transmit a vigorous pulse to their national life? Would it be strange if such a confederacy should at length undertake to say what shall be the method of settling national differences? I would by no means claim the spirit of prophecy. I cannot say what may have been the purpose of Providence in planting such a nation on the western continent, purifying it in the furnace of civil war, and lifting it to a degree of power which, it is not too much to say, England herself respects. What career may lie before us, if the passions or the stolidity of the nations prevent the adoption of any of these peaceful and equitable measures for the settlement of difficulties and the abolition of war, only God can know. Certain it is, we are on the road along which we need only pursue our way for another century, and more than has been intimated may be the fruit of that journey.

In conclusion, there are many circumstances daily coming to light which are calculated to encourage the efforts, and promote the ends of the Peace Association. The increasing appreciation of the horrors of war cannot fail to hasten the adoption of means so greatly desired. The facilities already existing, and which are rapidly increasing, for international communication, cannot fail to make us better and better acquainted with each other, more appreciative of what is good in every other nation, and bring us nearer to the attainment of the noble ends of peace. It cannot but be that the growing knowledge which trade, travel, books, and industrial exhibitions, are continually fostering among the nations of the earth, will aid in the solution of this great problem; and when the Christian world itself shall understand the true spirit of Christianity, how essentially it is a religion of peace, and how absolutely the angelic hosts struck the key-note when they sang, "Glory to God in the highest; and on earth Peace, good-will toward men!"—it will recoil as by an instinct from the barbarities of war, and demand with a voice of thunder the adoption of methods of peace.

THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

BOSTON, MASS., JULY, 1869.

The Editor of the *ADVOCATE* for more than thirty years has been brought by long continued over-work to such a state of health as renders rest absolutely indispensable. Should this occasion some delay or irregularity in issuing the *Advocate* for a time, our friends will understand and excuse it.

THE JUBILEE AND THE AMERICAN FLAG.

The words of General Grant, "LET US HAVE PEACE," are every way remarkable; and especially when we consider the source from which they come, uttered by the greatest warrior of the age, they struck the public mind with the force of an inspiration. It seems to many that nothing short of an inspirational suggestion gave rise to the grand and mighty response of the Peace Jubilee, of which we gave an account last week. But where, during all this time, is the recognition of the American flag, as a part of the peace programme? Is the American flag to be forever the flag of blood, and nothing more? Is there no possibility of giving it a new baptism, and shedding around it the celestial and renovating dews of new and pacific associations? It is, perhaps, a difficult attempt, and there seems to be only one way of accomplishing it. It is only by that prophetic sight which sees the renovations of the future, and can combine them with the history of the past, and in the exercise of faith can behold the noble banner floating in the coming years as the symbol of peace, as it has in former years been the symbol of blood. In the spirit of this view a few stanzas appeared not long since in the *Advocate of Peace*, which we reprint to-day as an accompaniment to the inspirations of the great jubilee.

THE FLAG OF PEACE.

The day that comes with glories new,
Old errors to displace,
Upon its rising sunbeams threw
The flag of red, and white, and blue,
To bless the human race.

The day that maketh all things bright,
With liberty divine,
Pluck'd from the heavens the starry light,
And in the red, the blue, the white,
Bade it forever shine.

Oh banner fair! Oh banner free!
The red, the white, the blue!
Unfurl to every land and sea
Thy morning stars of liberty,
And life and hope renew.

Oh banner fair! Oh banner true!
With mission all divine!
Farther than Roman eagles flew,
With wisdom Athens never knew,
That last great work is thine.

Say that the work of blood is done;
Proclaim that wars shall cease;
And shine, as when the smiling sun
From storms his rainbow flag hath won,
THE WORLD'S BRIGHT FLAG OF PEACE.

— *Christian Mirror*.

As to the bearing of the Jubilee on the Peace Cause, generally misconceived, we will speak hereafter.—ED.